from winter quarters; they prepared the ground, sowed the crops and then departed, leaving the poorer members of the group to keep watch over the planted lands until their return for the harvest.

The difficulty of determining what should be considered the migratory unit has been suggested in the discussion above of the nature of the aul. According to Kargabaiev the Davlet uru and other people living with them, forming together the Karastaq aul, were divided during the period of summer pasturage into groups of five or six related families who set up their kibitkas in one place when they camped and moved together from one part to another of the whole area traditionally utilized by the Davlet uru. He explained that when he had said previously that they only journeyed 9 kilometers to summer pastures he meant it was 9 kilometers from the common winter quarters to the beginning of the upland pastures where they separated into smaller groups.

Such was apparently the condition described by Grodekov[15] in writing, "They migrated as a society of one gens [Russian: rod] but admitted to the aul individuals from other gentes related through the mother's line and also poor people hired as workers. The routes of migration were fixed for each gens which had its designated place for summer and autumn." Then, a few lines later, "They migrate in groups of a greater or less number of kibitkas." The first statement seems to refer to the uru as it may be considered a migratory unit, and the second to its component parts of family groups. A further statement emphasizes this point.[16] "In summer they live more in scattered groups; in winter more compactly. If they lived too closely together in summer there would be an inadequacy of pasture and the cattle would become mixed up."

The small family groups, in theory at least, might camp anywhere convenient for them in the general area occupied by the uru and remain as long as they liked. Grodekov states[17] that the master of each kibitka started out and halted when he wished. The leaders of the uru, the aqsaqal " . . . or, according to some, the rich men, suggest, but do not compel."[18]

This indication of the persuasive power of the rich, along with Grodekov's previously quoted remark concerning the presence in the aul of poor people hired as workers, paves the way to a consideration of the distinctions between rich and poor in connection with the yearly round of economic life.

Such distinctions were very marked. It was primarily the wealthy and middle class herd owners who migrated with their animals, taking along with them a large number of herdsmen and shepherds. These, according to my informants, were of two kinds: first, poor relatives of the cattle owner, members of his own uru, who worked for him without pay and toward whom he stood in a patriarchal relation as their patron and protector; and second, hired workers of another uru who received wages. Rudenko writes:[19]

[15] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 109–10.
[16] *Idem*, 110.
[17] *Kirgizy i Kara-kirgizy*, 110.
[18] See also Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 214.
[19] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 20.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

233 [465] The wealthy hire shepherds from among the middle class and poor. They pasture collectively; if one hires out as shepherd the others help him . . . . A shepherd receives from his master clothing, food, and three or four sheep in payment. A good horse shepherd will receive in addition to food and clothes, a horse. 1

According to Tlenshiev a young shepherd might get seven woolen cloaks or seven lambs for a year's work while a skilled and experienced worker might receive anywhere from one to ten horses. The regular period of employment was for one year. At the end of that time the herdsman might return to his own uru, go to work for another employer, or continue in his job for another year.

The hired herdsmen, Tlenshiev said, were called malcЬ from mal (cattle), though in addition to tending the herds they performed any other necessary heavy work about their employer's kibitka. There were several varieties of malcЬ according to the kind of animal they tended. Sheep herders (qojcЬ) followed their flocks on foot while cow herds (ɑbjbɪcЬ) either rode a cow or went afoot. The horse herders (çbIqbcЬ) were from necessity obliged to [342] have a mount, but, said Tlenshiev, usually had a broken-down nag assigned to them. The herdsmen and their families did not live in a true kibitka (kyiz yj) but in a rough shelter, called qos or kyrke, formed by an old felt or reed mat supported by three poles.[20] Tlenshiev emphasized the fact that the malcЬ together with their wives and children never lived in real kibitkas, except insofar as the kyrke might itself be considered a small kibitka. This would indicate that only a part, perhaps not more than half, of the Kazak customarily dwelt in the kibitka as it is usually described.

565 511 These details were of course provided by Tlenshiev in an enthusiastic effort to indicate to me the severe exploitation to which the lower class of Kazak were subjected by their masters and must be discounted accordingly. They gain however a degree of confirmation from other sources. Rudenko[21] describes the poorer people as living in the kyrke and Zaleskie,[22] after describing a form of dwelling of the poor very similar to a kyrke, adds: "Les plus pauvre passent, en été, la nuit dans la steppe, à la belle étoile, et l'hiver, cherchent un abri dans les kibitka des riches; ils sont . . . considérés sinon avec mépris, au moins avec dédain." Again,[23] in confirmation of the fact that the poor followed the animals on foot, the same author writes, "Les pauvres . . . vont à pied en chassant les troupeaux devant eux . . . ."

233 565 Among wealthy Kazak the animals were not driven home at night,[24] as was customary among the owners of smaller herds,[25] but were left in the charge of herdsmen on the pastures where there was more grass.[26] A small number of cattle necessary for milking were kept near the kibitkas. Only the wealthy had camels.[27]

[20] The distinction between the qos and kyrke was that the latter had a small smoke vent.
[21] *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[22] Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 9.
[23] *Idem*, 10.
[24] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 24.
[25] Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 228.
[26] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 110.
[27] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 14.

1 [Rudenko in Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov, 20. -- Analyst]

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

It is clear that there has been a marked change in the herding economy in general during the last few centuries, which has of course been much accelerated during recent generations. Asfendiarov[28] remarks on the increasing restriction of the Kazak nomads during the eighteenth century by the expansion of Russia on the north, China in the east and the sedentary influence of the khanates of Bokhara and Kokand in the south. Because of the growth of settled areas it became no longer possible for the nomads to find new pastures during periodic crises due to drought. A struggle therefore developed among the various Kazak groups for the possession of the available lands, with a consequent elimination of the weaker groups. Those who succumbed in this process became hired herdsmen, caravan drivers, turned to agriculture, or went to the cities. Simultaneously the increasing restriction of pasture lands produced a decline of horse culture and an increase of sheep and goat herding. The herding of horses on a large scale was restricted to the rich and powerful, while small horned cattle became the basis of the economy of the poor and semi-settled people. This tendency was further stimulated by the increased demand for wool from the Central Asian markets which made sheep raising profitable. These historical observations receive confirmation from Levshin who observed[29] that at the time of his visit (about 1825) the Kazak in general possessed few horned cattle. He was told that a hundred years previously they had had none at all.

This increase of sheep raising made the autumn, when the shearing was done, a busy time. During this period the social groupings of the summer period of migration remained substantially the same. Although shearing usually took place not far from the site of the winter quarters, it was carried on by groups of a few families as in the case of the summer herding. The poor relatives and hired workers who served the large herd owners in the summer were engaged in clipping the sheep and in making general preparation for winter. This period lasted from August or the first part of September through October, when most groups moved into their winter quarters.

The dwellings for the winter were permanent structures of wattle, adobe, sod, or, more rarely, of wood or stone. They were usually called qɒstav but by some groups of the Great Orda, tam. Generally they consisted of one room but those of the rich might contain several. Adjoining the qɒstav were a number of fenced-in sarai, or corrals, surrounded with mud or wattle walls where the animals were kept. There were separate corrals for each kind of animal and sometimes a stable as well, built like the qɒstav and frequently connected with it. There were also storage places for the winter's supply of hay. Thus around each qɒstav were numerous outbuildings.

In winter the entire uru group and other people associated with it, who during the summer season had been broken up into units of a few families, lived together. Each family as a general rule had its own qɒstav so that the winter quarters of a moderate sized group formed a village of several hundred houses as well as outbuildings and corrals.

During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the

[28] *Istoriia Kazakstana*, 86-95.

[29] *Description des hordes*, 409.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

221 During the winter season work was not onerous. It consisted largely in caring for the
621 animals, and in carrying water from the adjacent springs, lake or river. An adequate water supply, in addition to a sheltered location, was the chief requirement of a good site for winter quarters. At this time also there was some work done by individuals specializing as blacksmiths and carpenters.

There appears to have been a significant number of the group, roughly twenty percent according to my information, who spent the entire year in the winter quarters. These people, having few if any animals of their own, occupied themselves in cutting hay in the meadows of their wealthy patrons or, where agriculture had developed, in tending small plots of their own. In addition hunting was for them an important economic resource. A similar observation is made in the handbook *Kasakstan i Kirgiziia*:[30]

> The poor people having no possibility to journey, remain at the kstau the year round. In some cases where agriculture is being taken seriously they are tied to the kstau for harvesting and making hay . . . .

It should be noted, however, that according to my informants it was not necessarily the same twenty percent of the people each year who stayed in winter quarters during the summer, although there appears to have been a definite tendency toward adopting a sedentary life.

The development of permanent habitations for winter occupancy is comparatively recent among the Kazak. On the other hand the practice of spending each winter in the same place in a spot well sheltered and well watered is very ancient and general among all the Central Asiatic nomadic groups. The *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*[31] has a reference to the Kazak setting out for their winter quarters in the year 919 [1513–14 A.D.]. This need not, however, indicate that these winter quarters were the substantial dwellings found among
[342] most Kazak groups today. At the present time, according to Tlenshiev, there is a group named Adaj in the southern Urals who built no qɨstav but lived in kibitkas all the year. My informants, however, considered this as a fact worthy of remark and were all somewhat amused by such backwardness. Kuftin writes:[32]

> Some Kazaks spend the winter in the same yurt [kibitka], only digging it into the ground and inner-lining it with a second coat of felt on the inside, but such Kazaks are found in the southern desert part of the country in very small numbers.

The Kazak in the Altai occupied kibitkas the year round only thirty or forty years ago.[33]

221 Likewise the habit of laying in fodder for the use of the cattle in winter is quite recent.
233 Levshin notes[34] that the Kazak near the border of Russian territory were in his time beginning to store up winter supplies, and also to provide artificial shelters for their

[30] *Kazakstan i Kirgiziia*, 9.
[31] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 277.
[32] *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 35.
[33] Rudenko, *Ocherk Byta . . . Kazakov*, 32.
[34] *Description des hordes*, 312.

2: Hudson E-4, 5 (1936) 1938 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

animals against inclement weather. Formerly it had been the practice, as was still the case in many places until very recently, to graze the herds in the open throughout the winter. The horses would first break the crust of the snow with their hoofs and eat the tops of the grass, after which the other animals could get at the remaining stalks.[35] Even at the present time[36] most cattle are pastured out during the winter. Rich men especially sent off their cattle to graze under the care of herdsmen since their large herds could not all be accommodated in or near the winter quarters.

Agriculture, except perhaps in the extreme south, where the influence of Bokhara was strong, is an even more recent innovation than the provision of fodder, and less widely practised. Only the poorest individuals who had neither animals nor other means of subsistence resorted to it.[37] The recency of the development of agriculture is apparently reflected in the question of land ownership which will be examined along with other property rights.

PROPERTY RIGHTS

Kazak social structure as manifested in property rights may be considered in relation to ownership of cattle, grazing lands, the winter habitations, and agricultural and meadow land.

Cattle were all held in the individual ownership of members of the group, usually by male heads of families. There is some indication, however, to suggest that they could be considered as belonging to the family as a whole but held in trust and utilized for their benefit by its head. Such a situation, for example, might be implied by the right of sons to demand from their father a portion of his animals on coming of age.

There is also perhaps a suggestion of former even wider communal ownership of cattle in the custom of marking all animals belonging to members of a particular uru with the same cut or brand (tamga) (usually mentioned in the literature as tamga).[38] To infer from this, however, an earlier communal ownership of cattle is extremely unsafe. Although similar tamgas for a whole uru were widely known it is very uncertain to what extent they were used to mark cattle. In recent times at least most cattle appear to have been marked with a personal individual tamga of their owner. According to my informants group tamgas were not used on animals; each man might have not only his own tamga but a different kind of mark for each kind of animal. This is confirmed by Grodekov who adds significantly[39] " . . . anyone wishing to mark his cattle may *invent* [italics mine] his own tamga but once having adopted it he may not alter it." Although everyone was in theory entitled to his

[35] See Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 412; also Pallas, *Voyages*, 1: 600.

[36] Baronov, Bukeikhan, and Rudenko, *Kazaki*, 8–9.

[37] Levshin, *Description des hordes*, 413; Zaleskie, *La Vie des steppes*, 53–54; Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenbourg*, 38; Wood, *The Shores of Lake Aral*, 108

[38] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3–4, and supplement, 4–7; Radlov, *Aus Sibirien*, 1: 279; Czaplicka, *Turks of Central Asia*, 41–42.

[39] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 3.

In former times the slaves also formed a numerous group of permanent residents among the uru members, except for such of them as might be ransomed or freed for other reasons. Their children would also be slaves of the same owners. Here, in a slightly different status, must be included the slaves and maid-servants who formed part of the dowries of wealthy brides. In the unlikely event of their mistress being sent back to her parents they would perhaps return with her.

In a quite different economic class were individuals who, while not blood members of the group, might own and occupy land for fodder and winter quarters among them.[3] They were mostly rather wealthy cattle owners who were obliged to supplement their hay-fields and to find better or more extensive winter shelter for their herds. In some, and perhaps in most, cases they were related to the uru members through the female line.[4]

Children might be brought up by the mother's group. Grodekov[5] writes:

> Children enjoy protection from the mother's tribe when the father's is inactive or absent. In that case when the father is of the tribe of, say, Chumble, and the child is educated by the mother's tribe, Dzhappac, he is called among them Dzhappac [compare Rudenko's statement above] to avoid coldness of relations . . . [but] no one may belong to his mother's tribe.

Grodekov further indicates that a group may have a legal claim on daughters of its female members by birth:

> If a father dies without relatives, the children go to the mother's tribe. The son may choose whether to go or not, and may take up a trade but the girl is obliged to go since they claim her by law.

There is no further light on this point. It seems contradictory to other information.

There might be children other than those whose mothers had belonged to the group adopted by families within it. Usually, however, adopted children were taken from a brother's family, and therefore were by birth uru members. I have no satisfactory information on whether or not they would be considered as uru members if born outside but formally adopted into it.

A wife's kinsmen might in some cases come and live with her in her husband's group. Grodekov says[6] that a widower may go to live with his married daughter, but only with the permission of his son-in-law. One of my informants remarked that if a girl married well into a rich family her own kinsmen might be expected to spend a large part of their time visiting her.

In enumerating the foreign elements resident among the uru group there must also be included the free-lance warriors and the Telengut who served the powerful local chiefs and khans.

All the categories mentioned above were more or less permanently attached to the

[3] See also Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15.
[4] Grodekov, *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 15, 37; Dingelstedt, *Le Droit coutumier*, 314.
[5] *Op. cit.*, 37.
[6] *Kirgizy i Karakirgizy*, 35.

173 the Middle /3/ horde (orta yuz) took the places suitable for droves of horses, and the Little horde (kshi yuz) the localities bordering with Russia.

173 618 A list of 92 Uzbek clans is spread among the Kazakhs in various variations, called the Nasab Namei Uzbekiia. According to Khoroshkin, this list owes its origin to a desire of the Bukharan Emirs to have a record of the traditions among the people about the 92 Uzbek clans. At the same time variants were produced even during the very collecting of 92 names, in spite of their alteration by the copyists.

173 233 In the list of the 92 Uzbek tribes it was said that when the 92 brothers became rich, their livestock began to get mixed. In order to show to whom the livestock belonged, the brothers, in consultation with each other, chose 92 signs or seals /tamga/.

The antiquity of the seals is confirmed by the fact that many of the names of the clans, and still more often those of the lineages, originate from names of the drawings on the seals. The study of the seals is important for the history of the Uzbek clans. The discovery of a clan seal in a certain place on a tomb or other monument can prove that that very clan nomadized there at some time. (1)

1. V. P. Nalivkin.

The seals serve in place of the inscription of a name on tombs and on every sort of document. The seal is branded primarily on horses and camels, and from the left side (from which the horse is mounted). The part of the body where the seal is branded differs in different clans. For example the Turaigyr lineage brands its seal on the head, the Kukkuz on the flank, the Kaz and Kedel on the shoulder, the Karakypchak on the belly, and one lineage of the Kypchaks, living around Troitsk, on the haunch. The seal is not branded on sheep and cattle, but they make a cut in the ear, the right or the left. This incision is called en, kez. Sometimes they make several strokes on an animal's cheek in place of the seal. This is called surma. Although anyone who wishes to distinguish his livestock can invent a seal, an en, etc., for himself, once he has established this sign he cannot change it except in the /4/ case of allotment to someone or as a result of the increase of the i[illegible] livestock (1)

1. Cf. supplement No. 2. 1

1 [Not translated -- A.]

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671 Buildings raised on the tilled lands of the nomads become their property, on the same bases which have been established for buildings on the winter camps.

Lands which lie under nomadic and livestock driving roads are left to the general use of the area. (1)

1. Articles 270-279 of the code for the administration of the Turkestan region.

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221 Nomadizing (kushpek) is one of the oldest forms of life, and is inherent to the herdsmen because of the fact that the many animals in their herds soon exhaust all the fodder under foot if they remain in one place.

The Kazakhs follow ancient custom in nomadizing even to the present time. They move about in communities of one clan, permitting only kinsmen in the female line or poor men, hiring themselves as workers, into their villages from other clans. Every clan has its precise places of summer (sdzhaylyau) and autumn (kuzdyau) nomadizing.

On the eve of their departure from the winter camp they have a feast. After the feast, two fires are lit between the pillars of the gates, or if there are no gates, between a construction built to resemble gates. An older woman, who stands between them, takes a vessel made of a gourd (kabak) and breaks it, saying: "All sorrows have flown away with the breaking of this vessel" (kabak syndy kaygy kitty). Then the same woman takes the camels, which are already loaded, and leads them out of the enclosure. At the same time men, [782] women and children jump across the fires, saying: away, away!. (alas, alas). They go about 5-6 verst: from the winter camp, stop, set up their tents, slaughter horses and sheep and arrange a kudai, i. e., a sacrifice to a god. During the slaughtering of the animals, they say: "May we be as happy in /110/ a new place, as we were in the old" (iski dzhurtta isorke dzhanga dzhurtta dzharlyka).

They nomadize in groups (tap tap) of various numbers of tents. Setting out on the road is not determined by the authorities. The master of each tent is free to move or remain, as he wishes. The aksakals, or according to the Kirgiz Kurpetai Dauletkulov, rich men, give orders but do not insist. The same is true of the selection of places to stop and the grouping of the tents. In the summer they live

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more spread out, (tarau), and in the winter more compactly. They do not come close to each other, because there would be a shortage of grass and water, and the livestock would begin to get mixed. The milking animals (sauaman) are grazed around the village itself, where they are milked twice a day. The remaining animals graze farther away, where there is more grass. Camping along roads, even small roads, is avoided. If they are obliged to camp on a road, they hide themselves behind a hill, in order not to have guests. Those who live along the roads are buzagery (1) and the most desperate people.

1. The sellers of buza --an intoxicating drink made of millet. [273]

In former times migration to a new place took place (according to Mikebai, of the Perovsk uyezd) without a preliminary request for consent from those living near that place. Now it is required, at least from those who have livestock, to send a scout a day in advance (konys karab kitpek). If someone has migrated in without permission and refuses to leave, they give him a beating for which he cannot complain to a bii. However consent for a migration to come in is not refused without particularly important reasons. It is refused where the pastures have been allocated. According to Abdrakhman (of the Auliy a uyezd), nomad Kazakhs (elbay kazak) can migrate with livestock without permission into the steppes which are not divided up into hayfields and other sectors.

A scout who finds a new place, for example, a well, unoccupied, places a mark (bel'gi) by it, a spear or an object, or draws his seal on the ground or ties high grass together /111/ growing beside the well or spring. When they see the sign others will already avoid choosing this place for their camp.

If the leader of a nomadic group selects a place for it and does not mark it with one of the signs listed above, and then departs to inspect the surrounding pastures, and on his return finds the leader of another village occupying his place, the declaration of the first leader is not taken into consideration. When two leaders who arrive at the same time from opposite directions dispute over the same place, the dispute is settled in the following fashion. If one of the disputants is a bii, and the other an aksakal known throughout the clan, a chief, then the place is yielded in favor of the latter. If the dispute takes place between a bii and a simple Kazakh, the area in dispute remains with the former. If the two disputants are simple people, it is decided in favor of the oldest. The same thing takes place if both men are biis or aksakals. If the

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233 disputants are the same age, the seniority of the clan or the lineage is taken into consideration.

[423] Among the Kirgiz, no one can occupy a summer camp where a certain clan has nomadized for a long time. It is possible to say: "I have no summer camp. Permit me to be your neighbor" (kongsylash). But nothing can be done in case of refusal, for what right can be had to a strange summer camp? (brauning yailauinda nese bar).

If one clan enters the pastures of another, representatives of the latter receive kurabashi from the former, i. e., one sheep from each herd. (1)

1. Kura - a herd up to 600 heads.

[424] If a village migrates to a locality near which another village is already camped, and the livestock of the former should worry or kill some animal belonging to the village which migrated to this locality first, the former group must pay the injured party for everything he has lost. But if the livestock of the village which arrived first worries or kills an animal belonging to a village which migrated there later, the latter receives no remuneration at all.

591 /112/ The ancient custom of the gratuitous giving of food (kunakasy beru) to a guest (1) and his horse, and a place to sleep is

1. Calling the guest "of God" (khuday kunak) is probably a transposition of the Sart proverb: "A guest is a gift of God" (mikhman atai khuda).

based 1) on community of property, for the Kazakhs call this kunakasy the unallotted property of Alasha (Alashtyng uleismegen inchisi), (2) and

2. Although according to the sense of this saying, non-Kazakhs do not have a right to kunakasy, they too are not refused.

2) on the fear that if the guest dies of hunger wergeld will be demanded for him.

Tradition attributes the establishment of kunakasy to the Kazakh clan founder Alasha. In his old age Alasha kept a part of his livestock for himself and divided the remainder of the livestock among his three sons, from whom the three hordes existing today are descended. He called the share of the property received by each of them inchi, i. e., the imprescriptible and inviolable property of each of them. "But," he added, "under the conditions of your nomadic life, because of your kinds of occupations, in

A master who is touched by the plea of the servant, who throws himself down at his feet and holds him by the hand, sometimes forgives the entire suit. When there are blows from both sides, the matter passes without attention. 466

A servant is not fined for negligent service, but is only dismissed with a settlement. At present some require a servant to pay for damage resulting from his negligence. For example, if a sheep is lost during the day, some sue for half or one-third of its value. But if it is lost at night the shepherd is not guilty because he sleeps at night. Sometimes a koychi gives a friend a sheep belonging to his master, which the latter does not even miss. The shepherd justifies himself by saying that it ran away. If the deception is uncovered, the shepherd pays the value of the sheep and an additional fine in the amount of one sheep. If the master recalls that there were losses of sheep even earlier under this shepherd, he then requires an oath concerning these losses from the shepherd himself, or if the shepherd lives with his family or his kinsmen, he requires the oath from them. The master may consider it a dishonor to himself to take an oath from a shepherd as a person not his equal (koychinyn dzhanyn almaymyn, durus ksi imes). In this case the biis require the oath from the master himself. 466 233

The shepherd is not held responsible for sheep eaten by wolves even when conditions had been made for reimbursement of damages. A shepherd is not held responsible at all for falls and natural death (adzhal') of the livestock.

Only a rebuke, but not a suit is made for the shearing of wool with scissors (kyrktys) from the master's sheep by a strange man or by the shepherd himself, for the wool, milk and working power of the animals is considered "the beneficence of the animals" (malnyng khayry), and no payment is made for their use. /120/ A person who demands payment for them is reproached with the words: "Let that man perish who has not grown wealthy" (bay bolmay ulsin).

A strange animal joining the herd (buralky, nukatyk) is in general acquired by the shepherd. A greedy master can demand it for himself on the ground that his livestock attracted the strange animal. Among the Kirgiza strange animal joining the herd goes to the shepherd if he does not declare it to his master. But if the master finds out about it, he demands it for himself because it joined (singib kitti) his herd. Some keep the strange animal (bularky in Kirgiz), others slaughter it for kudai, a feast of the people. Under the Russian dominion it has been established that a runaway or strange animal 466 233 425

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joining the herd must be presented to the authorities. The master who loses an animal turns to the authorities who investigate the whereabouts of the lost animal.

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According to Makovetkii (I p. 43), the amount of syuyunchi for the presentation of a lost animal goes up to one-fifth its value. An exception is the sheep: the person who finds it keeps its offspring, and returns the lost animal to the owner. But if he spoils the sign of the owner on the sheep, then he returns the sheep and its offspring. Torgai says that the person who finds a pregnant sheep returns the ewe and the lamb to the owner, so that if the finder ever loses a pregnant ewe he will also get it back with the lamb. But if the owner of the found ewe declares himself only after two or three years, he is given one ewe, "in accordance with the customary law and the Shariat, " and they say: "If you recognize your lamb, take it" (kozysyn tanysang alakoy). Torgai also knows another opinion, by which an owner who appears after two or three years is granted only half a sheep, having in view the expense and labor of its maintenance (bagyb kagyb). If the person who found the sheep denies it, the oath is required of the owner himself. For the return of his lost horse, cow or camel, the owner must present seven witnesses (isbat), of whom two must swear an oath. If the finder has informed everyone of his find, it is not thievery for him to put his brand on it.

/121/ Livestock are kept for two or three weeks. After that, they declare to the volost administrator that the owner has not appeared.

If the animal found gives birth to a calf, the calf is not divided from its mother and also belongs to the owner, while if no owner appears, it belongs to the finder. If many livestock are lost, and fewer found, the finder is accused of having hidden the rest. This kind of case is settled on the basis of testimony from unimplicated persons, without an oath.

Things which are found (nerse, buyum), go to the finder if no one witnessed the finding. If there were witnesses, the find is kept by the finder from one to two months until the owner appears, who then receives his object for the payment of syuyunchi.

The longer the object is kept, the larger the amount of the syuyunchi. Speaking approximately, for an object worth 1 ruble, the syuyunchi amounts to 20 kopeks, for something worth 10 rubles, 2 rubles, for something worth 20 rubles - 5 rubles, for a horse - 1 tillia /3-4 rubles/, for a camel, 5-8 rubles. If the owner of the thing does not declare himself, it becomes the possession of the finder.

When money is found it is divided among all those present when it is found, with the obligation to give it up if the owner declares him-

[144 cont.]

131 which flows from the same mountain, falls into the Sarsu /Sary-Su/.
133 "And the Sarsu falls into a lake before reaching the Syr, at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlyk, and 70 versts /75 km./ from Karachat (Kara Tag) /Kara-Tau/ mountain, and the length of the Karachat is 250 versts /267 km./, and this mountain is 80 versts /85 km./ from the Syr.

"And at 150 versts /160 km./ from the mouth of the Kenderlik, on the left bank of the Syr, is the town of Sunak (Saganak), opposite Karachat Mountain and between Lake Akbashly, the Sauk River, and Lake Ankul (Akkul). And on the
[311 two shores of the Zelenshik and the Kenderlik and Sarsu rivers,
233] and the Kara-Kum sands in this region are all the pasture lands of the Kazak horde, covering 600 versts /640 km./."

175 It can be seen from this description that at this time the
[101] Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] only occupied the middle of their present territories. The eastern part belonged to the Dzungars and other Mongol groups [races]. The north belonged to various branches of the Siberian Tatars, while the west was occupied by the Nogais and further north, the Bashkirs (2). Later the Kalmuks,

2. In the same book, the Bolshoi Chertezh, page 229, it says: "From the heights of Buzuluk and on the plains as far as the Blue Sea are the pasture lands of the great Nogais." In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Moscow under No. 10, a letter from Yusuf, prince of the Nogais, to Tsar Ivan the Terrible, written at the end of the 16th century, is preserved. Here Yusuf says clearly: "And I wished to make war against the Kazak horde, and now I am nomadizing on the Yelek (Ilek) River, on the other side of the Yaik Ural/."

now known as the Volga Kalmuks, took the place of the Nogais.

[144 cont.]

175 At first the Kirghiz-Kazaks advanced northward. Fisher, in his history of Siberia (3), says that after the town of Tary was

3. I. E. Fisher, Sibirskaia Istoriia s Samogo Otkrytiia Sibiri do Zavoevyvaniia sei Zemli Rossiiskim Oruzhiem (The History of Siberia from the very Discovery of Siberia to its Conquest by Russian Arms), 1774], Russian translation, p. 180.

completed in 1594, the district of Kurdak was added to it, where the foundation of a fortress was laid to stop the raids of the Kalmuks and Kirghiz-Kazaks. Thus the latter were no longer far from the Russian borders.

They did not expand eastward until after the extermination of the [145] Dzungartan peoples by the Chinese, in other words, about the middle of the last [18th] century.

● [233] They expanded westward at the beginning of the 18th century, but at the end of the 17th century and even in the first years of the 18th, the Bashkirs were nomadizing between the raised regions of the Ural and the Emba rivers, while the Kalmuks had established themselves at the mouths of these rivers (1).

1. Kirilov, original founder of the Orenburg confederacy and author of the reconciliation between the Russians and the Kirghiz [i.e. Kazaks], wrote in one of his plans, in 1734: "Dorzhi-Nazarov, khan of the nomadic Kalmuks near the Emba and the Yaik /Ural/ rivers." See Kirilov's plans in the archives of the districts of Asia, 1734.

175 721 In the south, the Kirghiz [i.e. the Kazaks] were not satisfied with making raids over the borders of the neighboring peoples. According to our chronicles, they were already the masters of

[266 cont.]

[248] and put Berdy Khoja to death in the most barbarous manner. They [727] cut off his head, his feet, and his hands, and then they opened his stomach and put all the dismembered parts into it.

The revenge which was exacted for this execrable assassination showed that if the Kazaks were less valorous than the Buruts, they yielded nothing to them in ferocity. Ak-Kaiak, the brother of Berdy Khoja, and his sons Lepes and Choka, in a fortunate battle with the Buruts, managed to capture the son of the elder of the latter group and to bring him to their village. There the wives of Berdy Khoja threw themselves upon the unfortunate prisoner. Each of them wanted to kill him. It was a question of who would inflict the most wounds upon him, and he finally died under their blows.

[721] Let us return to the Little Horde. It was an object of concern to the Russian government in many respects during the ten years from 1781 to 1791. Above all, the goal of these concerns was to re-establish order and peace, but they had no success and often found themselves obliged to have recourse to arms in order to punish the bandits who never ceased to make raids over the Orenburg border in defiance of all kinds of reproof.

Having firmly resolved to introduce some kind of order among the Kazaks and from there to come little by little to fixed regulations, in 1872 Empress Catherine commanded first, the establishment of a special border administration under the name of the expedition of the borders, whose duty would be to use [233 166] every possible means to carry out Her Majesty's benevolent intentions toward the Kazaks; and second, she abolished the prohibition against allowing the livestock of the Kazaks to enter within the line to spend the winter (1). Third, she gave strict

1. Besides, it is well to note that in spite of this prohibition the Kazaks [267] often crossed the Ural River secretly and came to spend the winter with their animals in the Astrakhan steppes.

[305 cont.]

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Chapter III. Principal Camping Sites of the Kirghiz-Kazaks.

Although the descent lines and tribes of the Kazaks, who are constantly moving from one place to another, cannot have [306] fixed habitations just for this reason, nor can they possess lands, strictly speaking, still, in order to avoid disputes, each group stays as much as possible in the same camping places, especially during the winter. Only reasons of the greatest importance can make them go against this custom.

Their present camping sites are approximately in the following places:

The Little Horde

The Alimuly descent line always spends the winter on the Syr [Darya] River, the Kuvan, and on the dry bed of the Yany-Darya, as well as in the sands of Kara-Kum, Burzuk /Barsuki/, and at the mouth of the Emba. Only a small part [of this descent line] camps on the Ilek River, the Or, and the Ural, from the fort of Krasnogorsk to that of Verkhne-Ozernaya. Their summer camps are on the Temir, Emba, Sagiz, Uil, Ilek, Khobda, Or, and Irgiz rivers, in the Mugodzhar Hills, and in the sands of Kara-Kum.

The Baiuly tribes are Adai, Cherkes, Tana, Baibakty, Shikhlar, Maskar, Kizil-Kurt, Issen-Temir, part of the Djappas tribe, and most of the Alacha, Tazlar, and Bershch tribes. All nomadize in the territory opposite the lower Ural River line and spend the summer between the Ural and the Emba, in the vicinity of the Karakul lakes and the Kuldagaity, Buldurty, Ulenty, Djusaly, Chungurlau, Ankaty, and Uilu rivers, as far as the Khobda. In winter they camp on the Caspian Sea, at the mouths of the Ural and the Emba, on the gulfs opposite Guryev, and some parts of the Adai tribe camp on Mangyshlak. The rest of the Tazlar, Alacha, and Bershch tribes are on the Syr [Darya], the Kuvan, and in the sands of Kara-Kum. Most of the Yappas camp in summer on the Tobol and the Turgai, opposite Troitsk, and in winter on the Syr [Darya] and the Kuvan.

[233]

[307 cont.]
101 localities in the direction of the eastern borders of the [308]
361 Chinese empire. The rest of them occupy the upper parts of the
221 Ishim, a sector of the shores of the Turgai, Kara-Uziek, Syr
619 [Darya], Kuvan, Lap-Su, and Kuk-Su rivers, the vicinity of Lake Ak, and the Ulug and Kichi mountains, etc.

The Kipchak descent line camps on the shores of the Issel, Turgai, Chakiek, Ubagan, Tobol, Ayat, Muyunli, and Uya rivers, opposite the forts of Troitsk, Stepnoi, and Ust-Uisk, and in the Kara-Kum desert, as well as in the districts of Aman-Karagay, Ebelei, Yedis, and Tiriekly.

The camps of the Uvak-Girei descent line are on the Ubagan, Ishim, Uya, Taguzak, Irtysh, Issel, Sary-Su, and Tsui or Chui rivers, as well as in the sands of Ich-Kungur, the vicinity of Lake Kechubay-Charkar, and opposite the part of the line between the forts of Stepnoi and Verkho-Uralsk, as well as opposite the forts of Zverinogolovskoye and Presnogorkovskoye.

The Great Horde

The tribes of which we have spoken camp on the Chui or Tsui, Tala-Su, Ili, Kuk-Su, Karatal, Chirchik, Syr [Darya], and Sara-Su rivers, in the vicinity of the lakes of Kara, Ala, Al-Su, and Anamas and the cities of Kuldja, Kashgar, Kukan /Kokand/, Tashkent, and Turkestan, and in the neighborhood of the Kara-Tau, Tarbagatai, and Chingiz-Tsazan [Chingis-Tau] mountains, as well as in the district called the Seven Rivers /Semirechie/. They are also in other regions near the Chinese border, in the old lands of the Dzungars. Some tribes live in the towns of Tashkent and Turkestan and in the near-by villages.

One part of the Kunkrat descent line moves about in these same areas, while another part camps with the Naimans.

[309] Chapter IV. Way of Life.

233 The Kazak way of life is a faithful image of that of the
181 patriarchs. The sight of a whole nation of shepherds, who live only, so to speak, for their flocks, the settlements or auls which

[309 cont.]

233 disappear from one place to appear a moment later in another,
181 the simplicity of this type of life which is so close to nature: the whole offers the novelist or poet an interesting spectacle. Their active imagination sees in the Kazaks the happy and carefree shepherds of Arcadia, or the peaceful contemporaries of Abraham. They can delude themselves about the good fortune of a people which does not know the vices which reign in the cities and can seek in these lands the subjects of eclogues and idyls. But the traveler, who is more wary, sees in the Kazaks only half-savages, like the Scythians of Herodotus, the Mongols of Chingis, the Bedouins of the present day, the Kurds, the small peoples on the shores of the Yenisei, and the Hottentots and other uncivilized races of Africa and Asia. Actually, the Kazak hordes are close to these peoples, both in their ways and in the numerous herds from which they draw their only subsistance and which they follow from place to place with their movable
342 dwellings. The Kazak dwelling is a kibitka, or yurt, in other words, a hemispheric tent made of a wooden trellis covered with felt and provided with a large round opening in the upper part, which is opened and closed at will. This serves as a window and takes the place of a chimney when a fire is made in the tent. These tents, which are like those of the Kalmuks in every way, are from four to eight arshins (1) /2.84 meters to 5.68 meters/

1. An arshin is slightly more than two feet in France.

high, and from [310] eight to fifteen arshins /5.68 to 10.67 meters/ in diameter. The trellis wall is attached by means of ropes made of horsehair to posts fixed in the ground. The doors are made of wood and adorned with ornaments made of small bones which are inlaid. Sometimes a simple piece of felt takes the place of a door. The ropes which serve to tie and hold the trellis
[353] are usually of wool but of silk among the rich. In summer the walls are covered on the inside with a kind of curtain woven of straw and threads of various colors. In very hot weather the felt is lifted from the bottom, and then these curtains let the fresh air

[310 cont.]

342 in and protect the interior of the tent from dust and the heat of the sun. The tents of ordinary people are of gray felt, and those of the great or the rich of white felt. But some sultans, the most powerful ones in the Middle and the Great Hordes, have theirs covered with red cloth and lined inside with fabrics of silk. The [565] poorest people, on the contrary, substitute mats of tree bark and leaves for the pieces of felt, and sometimes they even use reeds and grass.

352 The far side of the tent, opposite the door, is occupied by [291] chests covered with rugs. These serve for the storage of dresses, [411] robes, and other clothing. Rifles, sabers, bows, arrows, saddles, 415 harnesses, powderhorns, etc. are hung inside the tent, as well as towels, teapots, jugs, tursuks (kinds of sacks of hide), and frequently pieces of smoked horsemeat as well. The ground, which serves as the floor, is covered with rugs or pieces of felt. On these rugs great vases are arranged, kettles, wooden headboards [chevets] on which pillows are placed, and boxes of a special kind which are ornamented in different ways and in which sacks are placed which contain kumiss.

[493 A Kazak assembles and dismantles his tent in half an hour 231] and constantly carries it on the back of a camel to the places where he finds good pasturage and water for his herds. Thus he is more dependent upon his herds and studs than on anything else.

[233 [311] Later we will give a detailed description of their herds. 182] But it should be stated here that this kind of occupation determines all their social obligations and relations, so that no matter how one imagines a Kazak one can only see an armed shepherd in him. And the habit and taste for the pastoral life is the source of all his actions, both moral and physical.

233 The continual travels of the Kazaks and the change of loca-
152 tion does not tire them. On the contrary, they find in it a source
181 of pleasure and consider themselves lucky not to be attached to the soil. During the summer the nomadic life is really very pleasant,
221 but it is unbearable during the winter. During this season the
132 Kazak, surrounded on all sides by piles of snow, rarely emerge from their tents. There, huddled around the fire (1), they suffer almost

1. In places where there is no wood, they use animal dung for fuel.

[313 cont.]

Chapter V. On the Possibility of Making the Kirghiz-Kazaks Adopt Sedentary Customs.

631 The division of territory, of which we spoke in relation to the
636 camps of each tribe, might cause one to believe it possible to
311 establish each tribe or each descent line on the land it occupies,
177 in fixed positions, since it recalls to a certain point, the idea of territorial property. But this idea vanishes when one comes to consider the nature of the country and the moral inclinations of its inhabitants.

233 The care of the herds and their propagation is, as has been said before, the favorite and cherished occupation of the Kazaks, as well as the source of all their wealth. In order to sustain this
311 branch of economy in the flourishing state in which it is at
181 present, vast pasture lands are indispensable, and considering
579 the inclination of nomadic peoples for brigandage, these pastures cannot have fixed limits, and in addition, they are divided into two classes, summer and winter pastures. An open plain, smooth and rich [314] in fodder, is excellent for the livestock in summer, but during the winter confining hills are necessary, especially for the ewes, to protect them from the winds and storms, and also sand which absorbs moisture and on which, therefore, the snow
222 remains for a shorter time, as well as reeds and heather, which
372 provide good nourishment for the camels and good fuel for the shepherds.

311 This is why every tribe has its winter and summer pastures,
233 the former usually in the south. Thus the Baganaly and the Naimans, who spend the summer on the Ishim or the Turgai rivers, withdraw in winter to the Kuvan-Darya, while the Djappas people leave the market of Troitsk in November to go toward the shores of the Syr [Darya]. The same could be said for many others.
361 It is clear from this that the Kazaks must either have two different
439 camps according to the seasons or reduce the number of their animals. In this last case they would do harm not only to themselves but also to their neighbors, whose trade relations with them have the sole purpose of exchanging livestock.

reasonably be expected to persist over time and which indicate probable vulnerabilities to psychological warfare.

COMMUNICATIONS

Because psychological warfare depends ultimately upon the ability to communicate, the existing patterns and facilities for communication have been given considerable attention in the report. These data are concerned not only with radio communications, literacy rates, and similar factors of importance in communicating from a distance, but also with motion pictures and book publishing, which are important during consolidation operations. Such scanty data as are available are given on the distribution of ethnic groups in the republic as a whole and within cities, a matter of importance in helping to define the limits of informal or word-of-mouth communication. Even more scanty, but highly important, are the few available indications of the direction and amount of uncontrolled flow of Turkic peoples back and forth between the USSR and Afghanistan, Iran, and other countries.

COLLECTIVIZATION

Among the many characteristics of Kazakh culture which have stood in the way of successful adaptation to Soviet policy, their centuries-old dedication to a life of pastoral nomadism has consistently created the most acute problems—problems which became disastrous for the Kazakhs during the collectivization drive of the 1930's. For generations the Kazakhs had led their flocks of sheep and goats in a yearly round between winter and summer grazing areas, traveling in bands whose members were united by bonds of kinship and led by the senior men. Like so many nomads they were proud of their way of life and viewed agriculture and the sedentary life it implies as both unmanly and degrading. The small amount of farming which was occasionally done was performed by women, who have always occupied a subordinate position in Kazakh society, and by slaves and the poor.

The determination of the Soviet regime to settle the Kazakhs, along with the other peoples of the USSR, on collective farms met with resistance and cost hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs their livelihood and their lives. The net loss in Kazakh population in the period 1926-1939 amounted to almost one million; if one takes into account the normal increase otherwise to be expected during this time (based on figures for the USSR as a whole) the figure is closer to one and a half million.

Some compromises were made during the later phases of collectivization, but the basic conflict remains and manifests itself in a number of different ways. The Kazakhs are among those affected by a plan for massive cultural change which the Soviets believe will eventually create a society uniformly organized in accordance with "socialist reality." Thus far, however, cultural change in Kazakhstan has failed in many ways to proceed according to plan.

595 Traditionally, the Kazakh was permitted to have more than one wife. However, very few men were able to afford the expense involved, because [583] marriage required large payments by the family of the groom to the family of the bride. For those who could afford it, the possession of many [554] wives meant an increase in prestige and status. Sometimes a man took another wife because he had not had any sons by the first wife. But in general, even though plural wives were permitted, such marriages were few in number. In 1926, only 104.5 women were reported as married [104] per 100 married men, exclusive of widows and divorcees. In Tsarist times the number was not much larger. At present polygamy is forbid- [648] den by law. Nevertheless, it is stubbornly maintained by the Kazakhs, and cases are constantly being reported and denounced in the Soviet [554] press. It is still a matter of status and prestige; the bulk of the polygamous marriages reported today involve men of high position in Soviet life, such as Kazakhs who are presidents of collective farms.

233 The Kazakh herds are composed of sheep, goats, cattle, horses, and 221 camels, usually in that numerical order. Herds cannot be maintained through the entire year in one place, because the grass on the steppes is not rich enough to support them. They must move from month to month and from season to season. However, there are too many herdsmen and not enough steppeland to permit indiscriminate wandering. The usual pattern is for a nomadic camp to set up winter quarters where many smaller herding groups come together for religious and economic purposes. Here they store their hay through the winter to feed the livestock, and put up windbreaks against the winter storms. In the early spring they disperse into smaller herding groups of a few families each, and proceed over traditionally fixed grazing routes to the summer camp which they occupy until early fall. Nomadism is a fixed annual round of movement, not a haphazard one.

166 The 1926 census reported that 5.6 per cent of the Kazakh males had established residence outside the district in which they had been born. The comparable figure for women was 20 per cent. The explanation for 591 this difference lies in the marriage customs, under which a Kazakh woman traditionally moves to her husband's family residence. It is almost unheard of for a man to move to the home of his wife's kin or for both to move together to a new residence. Most of the marriages involved a woman's moving only a short distance to her husband's family. But at least a fifth of the women had to move away from their native districts; this usually meant that the marriage had been arranged for [584] them at some distance from their birthplaces.

No significant changes in Kazakh life had taken place by the time 197 the first Soviet census was taken in 1926. The first few years of Soviet- 648 ization had left the Kazakhs more or less untouched. Their economic life, their family life, and the traditional organization of their society had changed only externally. They had come under the unified rule of Moscow instead of continuing their own loose social groupings, but Moscow had not yet begun the transformation of Kazakh life, nor had the Kazakhs yet faced the problems involved in accommodating to or resisting Soviet influence.

161 may be estimated at approximately 1,400,000, if one adds to the actual loss of 900,000 the expected natural increase of 500,000.

C48 A number of arguments have been advanced to account for both the actual and the estimated losses. Each has a certain merit, and no single one of them should be pursued at the expense of all the others.

[167] The Soviet explanation is that people from Kazakhstan moved away to the new industrial enterprises of the southern Urals and southern Siberia and to the neighboring Central Asia republics, the Uzbek, Tadzhik, Turkmen, and Kirgiz SSR's. This interpretation has not been accompanied by any data. The figures quoted here have been the totals of those listed as Kazakhs in the USSR censuses regardless of place of residence. Therefore, the Soviet statement must mean not only that hundreds of thousands of Kazakhs migrated from Kazakhstan to other parts of the USSR, but also that they gave up their Kazakh nationality in doing so.

[177] This may be part of the story but it cannot be the whole. It is known that the Russians looked with favor on the Russification of native populations and their absorption into the Russian ethnic group, regardless of their forebears. German and Austrian prisoners of war who were sent to Kazakhstan report that many Kazakhs, identifiable by their physiognomy, by their personal and family names, and by their own account of 161 their past, were nevertheless designated Russian in their official papers. C48 But certainly 900,000 of them did not become Russian.

[474] During the course of collectivization many Kazakhs were liquidated by the GPU, primarily during the period between the two censuses. [565] Those liquidated were people who resisted collectivization, but they were listed as remnants of the former nobility and wealthy people of Kazakhstan. This class was known as the feudal bays. About 700 bay families per year were liquidated, that is turned over to the GPU, during the three-year period 1928-1930. In 1931 it was announced that 33,000 households of bays were to be liquidated. This made an announced total of 25,000 households subject to GPU measures. If all these people were actually liquidated (that is, left to starve or otherwise badly treated), then some 125,000 Kazakhs were eliminated by these means. This is the largest figure for population losses that can be assigned to police measures on the basis of published data.

● [233] [162] It has been stated that between 1930 and 1935, at the height of the drive for collectivization, the number of Kazakh households engaged in the traditional herding occupation dropped from 567,000 to 158,000. Many of these households went into agriculture and some into industry [167] in Kazakhstan, but others moved across the border, either into neighboring republics or out of the Soviet realm into bordering China. During the 1920's and the first part of the 1930's considerable cross-border movement was still permitted into China and back, according to age-old nomadic patterns. The border was closed in the mid-1930's, and possibly some Kazakhs remained outside the USSR by choice; for example, there is a colony of approximately 30,000 Kazakhs in Outer Mongolia. However, to assign numbers to the population loss in Soviet Kazakhstan through this cross-border movement is a hopeless task.

Again, no reliable estimate has been given for the number of Kazakhs who might have gone over to the neighboring republics within the Soviet Union.

This distinction made between Batyr Srym and Kenesary by Soviet historians reflects the current Soviet attitude toward past leaders. These early khans who are now denounced are the national and cultural heroes of the Kazakhs. They are celebrated in the folk literature, the poetry, and the tales which parents tell their children; they are the basis of common comparisons ("as brave as . . ., as clever as . . ."). For the Kazakhs these figures are symbols of their unity as a people. Moreover, they are the ancestors of those living today, according to the traditional Kazakh ties of descent and blood. In denouncing them, the Soviets are denouncing and insulting the very people most venerated by the Kazakhs, aristocrats and commoners alike.

The hold of the olden khans still continues after more than 30 years of Soviet rule. The Kazakh native writers demonstrate a profound desire to seize upon these old figures for literary and historical themes. They stubbornly resist relinquishment of these themes when the official line changes anew. Despite three years of the sharpest attacks and polemics, adulation of the ancient heroes continues in the literature, in films, in classroom textbooks, in official histories; its eradication is a concern of the Soviet regime today.[1]

KAZAKH LIFE IN 1950

The preceding description of the traditional Kazakh society and culture was included not only as background to the present, but primarily because whole sectors of Kazakhs continue more or less unchanged in that way of life, even though they are now members of a collective farm. Traditional Kazakh culture includes forces which have blocked accommodation to the Soviet pattern and forces which have permitted Sovietization. These forces will be taken up in turn.

In rural Kazakhstan, Kazakhs live in collective farms either as herders or as combined herders and farmers. They form the greater proportion of the population in the regions which are primarily devoted to herding, western and west-central Kazakhstan. Here they continue the old nomad life, pasturing their herds of sheep, goats, horses, cattle, and camels from winter camp to summer, reversing their path and completing the cycle in the fall. The winter camps are the focal points of community life, the stable centers of the annual round. Here after the summer dispersal the Kazakhs return to large adobe houses, structures which contain not only quarters for the extended family, but also stables, connecting corridors, and rooms for the storage of hay. Some of these house-stable-barn structures are a century old; it was about one hundred years ago that domiciles of this type were introduced into the area.[2]

The extended families and villages have been the basis of Kazakh adaptation to Sovietization. Kazakh herders continue to live in kin units, with the old aul or nomadic village as the core of the herding

[1] *Pravda*, 26 Dec 50, 19 Apr 51, and 28 Oct 52; *Voprosy Istorii*, 1951, No. 4, pp. 3-15.
[2] Korbe and Makbova, 1952, pp. 43-45.

8:Krader & Wayne E-4 (no date) 1955 RQ2 Kazak RQ2

Chapter 5

ECONOMY

TRADITIONAL PATTERN OF KAZAKH ECONOMY

233 The traditional economy of the Kazakhs is herding, the raising of cattle, horses, camels, and, numerically the most important, sheep and goats. Settled life is despised, farming is despised. Herding is a nomadic way of life, but this does not mean indiscriminate wandering over the face of the earth. In the past, when all Kazakhs were nomads, [221] each herding community had its fixed pattern of grazing, starting in the spring from the winter quarters, traveling to pastures where they spent the summer, then returning over the same path to the winter [621] quarters again. Each community had its own territory for grazing and camping, and would fight off any intruder. Communities camped in closer proximity to each other—making for greater density of population—where there was more water and grass for the herds.[1]

233 The most favorable area for herding, with regard to the availability 199 of plant cover and water, is in the northern part of the Kazakh steppe. Unfortunately, this part of the steppe is precisely the zone which is able to support a small amount of agriculture, and it was here that the Russians and Ukrainians settled in the 19th century. As a result the Kazakhs, in a period when their population was increasing, were thrust back on a more limited territory, away from the grassy steppe, away from the river and lake shores favored by the Slavs for agriculture, away from the water courses in northeastern Kazakhstan where mining, as well as agriculture, had been instituted. The steppe which remained to them was of poorer quality, for herding or for any other subsistence economy.

178 Faced with the problem of sustaining a herding economy with more 241 of their number on less and poorer land, the Kazakhs began to take up 565 agriculture. The first to go over to the new way were the poor, the marginal herders. The rich, of course, continued their pastoralism, hiring the poor to work for them. Out of this emerged a new pattern of mixed herding and farming. During the latter part of the 19th century, crops were planted at the winter quarters, and tended by the poor Kazakhs and by women, while the wealthier able-bodied men went off with the herds in the more honored occupation.

[1] For a detailed description of the Kazakh nomadic pattern, see Radenko in Baranov, 1927.

towards Russia, Turkey, and England. The cultural cohesion created by Islam that connects Chinese Turkestan with Russian Turkestan and other neighboring Muslim countries, and that created by Buddhism that connects Mongolia with Tibet through Chinghai and small areas of Sinkiang, marked the four provinces of Sinkiang, Chinhai, Kansu, and to a small degree, Shensi, as one single area which represents one administrative unit.

The Eastern Turks:

The main pattern of social life of the Eastern Turks is based primarily on "Oasis Agriculture" with its irrigational complex. All agriculture in this area is made possible through the organized use of water. The family organization among the Eastern Turks is therefore an extended one, since a certain level of productivity can only be reached through collective labor (upkeep of irrigational systems and dikes). One reason the Eastern Turks developed the extended family pattern is that the family recieves water in proportion to the amount of labor its members put into the upkeep of irrigational systems and canals; the greater the family, the more water is therefore provided for their land.

The Internal structure of the family system is not based upon clan rules. Eastern Turkic communities are governed by a body of leaders, selected from the community itself whereas the larger governmental districts are headed by Chinese officials or, at present, by Chinese Communists. A secondary aspect of Eastern Turkic social life is formed by trade and handicrafts. Merchants and craftsmen form "guilds" which in turn influence the social life of the community.

Kirghiz and Kazakhs:

Kirghiz and Kazakh society is clan-based. (The definition of the notion of "clan" is explained in the chapter about the Social Structure.) All family relationships are deeply rooted in the clan system. The main pattern of social life among these two tribes is created by their nomadic way of life, whose most essential economic activity is cattle breeding. The transition to a semi-sedentary life is now under way. The Communists insist that the Kirghiz and Kazakhs occupy a permanent winter camp site, since this facilitates better political control over the tribes. The choice of the summer camp site still remains more or less in the hands of the tribes. Kirghiz and Kazakhs are ruled by "biks," or "manaps" (elders) responsible to the Chinese officials.

The Mongols: general remarks.

Mongol social life is based on nomadic pastoralism. The basic unit is the nuclear family. A group of patrilineally

[Inner Horde]

413 and it was likewise important to know what the range
162 was within which these kin groupings fell. It is impor-
[161] tant to know that the population density of the Bukei Horde was 0.2 per sq. km. of their lands actually in use for the greater part of the year, including their own and leased lands; that the figure is slightly lower, 0.17 per sq. km., if the useless lands (arid, sandy, salty, etc.) and the disputed lands (with the Ural or New-Line Cossacks) are taken into account.[231] These figures are not only of interest for demographic, economic or ecological purposes; they are of interest in the study of kinship, for they indicate the limits within which close kin may be reckoned, they tell us how low the number may fall before the lineage members will seek to fuse with another group, and how high the number may reach before the group will divide into two or more by the process of fission. Thus, number itself relates significantly to kinship principles and to social structural principles.

•233 These numerical data[1] must in their turn be brought
613 together with other data, to answer still further questions: were the Inner or Bukei Horde Kazakhs herders like their Kalmuk, and Little Horde neighbors, like the Khalkha Mongols, etc.? For example, two Bukei Horde groups in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea in 1852 show

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[231] Ibid., 12.

1 A [cf. ent. 11b, AHI Mongolia, pp. 491-495 for context -- Analyst]

herding ratios comparable to those of the Mongols:[232]

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	12%	10%	6%

Another series of herd ratios for the Bukei Horde for the period 1849-1850 is comparable to these:[233]

Sheep/Goats	Cattle	Horses	Camels
72%	9%	14%	5%

These data bear evidence to the fact that we are dealing with the same type of society. Moreover, we see changes in ratio indicating changes in herd strength, indicating the perils of steppe life, that the pastoralist is at the mercies of natural forces. Thus, three severe winters (1846-1849) caused an over-all drop of 25 percent in the herds.[234] And we gain thereby a closer understanding of the factors making for instability of life on the steppe; the rise and fall of herds is a factor making for the dissolution and recombination of social groups in pastoral societies.

Clan and Lineage of the Inner Horde

The clan in the Inner Horde was divided into lineages called taifa, and the lineage in turn was divided into sub-lineages (or major lineages into minor ones)

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[232] Ibid., 40.

[233] Ibid., 11.

[234] Ibid., 12.

621 There is a correlation between the wealth of a Kazakh community and small size, its pastoral life requiring that it be small and mobile, and its composition by closely and homogeneously related kin. In this manner, the wealth, size, and consanguineal composition are all interrelated.

621 That the validity of this four-fold correlation
483 is not restricted to the northeastern Kazakh domain may
556 be seen in an example drawn from the western portion, in the old territory of the Little Horde. Here it has been reported for the same period, the 1920's, that the poorer Kazakhs took up agriculture, the richer maintained a mixed economy of herding and farming; the suls of the richer Kazakhs were composed only of close kin, while in the encampments of the poorer, two or three different, unrelated groups of kin were joined together.[273] From this we may infer a correlation between economic pursuit, wealth or poverty, and consanguineal composition of suls of the Little Horde; unfortunately, the fourth element in the correlation, that of size, cannot be confirmed for lack of data.

621 The Altai Mountain Kazakhs of the Middle Horde
● 233 moved as a unit from winter to summer pasturage provided the sul was small; if the sul was large, it broke up into

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[273] Ibid., 1927, 8-10; Bukei Khan, 60-62.

[Altai Kazakhs]

621 component extended family or close-kin groups for the
●233 summer movements.[274] These aul, in the northeast of Kazakhstan, were disposed in a line just as those in the western parts were,[275] in contrast to the nomadic village of the Khalkhas and Buryats which was circular in form.

621 [556] The aul of the poor were generally larger than those of the wealthy because they were sedentary, and were identical with the Kazakh winter encampment kystau/kstau, where farming was engaged in. The Kazakh summer camp dsailiau was smaller, more mobile, nomadic, pastoral, wealthier, related through close patrilineal ties. All 621 614 these camps bore the names of their founders. For example, in the genealogy of M. Chamov cited above,[1] his paternal ancestor in the fifth ascending generation, Kuldja-Bai, was the founder of the aul of which Chamov himself was the leader. This aul founder was the great-grandson of the sŏŏk founder, Sargaldak, and the grandson of the founder of Chamov's ata, Sary, and the aul itself bore the name of Kuldja-Bai. The head of this aul was also the head of the clan, since by right of primogeniture, the two offices coincided; thus the great-grandfather ul ata of Chamov was Biuydakan.[276] It was

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[274] Rudenko, 1930, 8.

[275] Ibid., 54.

[276] Samoilovich, 307.

[1] [Cf. cat. 116, AHI Mongolia, p. 528 ff. --Analyst]

621 447 the latter who had led the great migration of the Karatai to their present pasturages.

●233 The normal nomadic movements of the Kazakhs, especially those of the central and western portions of Kazakhstan, are north-south and south-north, in a yearly cycle, moving with the seasons.[277] The timing of the movements is determined by factors such as grass and weather, water and topography.[278] The influence of topography is seen from the fact that the northeastern Kazakhs, those in the Altai Mountain territory, cause their movements to conform with the relief, moving up the mountains in the summer, where the grass-growth is favored by the snow-melt.[279]

621 233 A nomadic camp moves a minimum of eight kilometers a day to about 30 kilometers a day, but not daily; quitting the winter camp toward the end of May or early June, an aul might move slowly on alternate days, or with even longer rest periods, over a period of one to three weeks, to the summer camp. The total distance from winter and summer camp is from about 45 to 100 kilometers, generally about 70 or 75. Sometimes longer rests are made en route at spring camps kokteu and fall camps kuzeu.[280]

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[277] Rudenko, op. cit., 72.

[278] Ibid., 8.

[279] Ibid., 72.

[280] Ibid., 4-8.